

796 involved in celebrating Christmas can be adjusted to household
435 income, whereas the expenses of Aid al-Kebir have a fixed character below which one is culturally not allowed to go.

796 Although the celebration of Aid al-Kebir is regarded by
785 the Berbers as the most expensive, there are several other events in the cycle of religious festivals which have economic repercussions. The most important of these is Ramadan, the fasting month for Muslims. During the entirety of this month, the ninth in the Muslim lunar calendar, the Riffians fast from sunrise to sunset.

[461] The lack of food during the day decreases the amount of energy one can expend on production. The period is a particularly difficult one if it falls during the summer months with their long and hot days (water is also prohibited) or during critical production months such as the ploughing period or harvest time. The [264] usual practice among the fellah is to rise at three o'clock in the morning and eat a final meal before day breaks. They then retire and attempt to sleep as long into the day as possible.

[461] Wage labor in the city suffers especially, since their work
[269] pattern is established along more rigid lines. The fasting
796 period has particularly devastating effects on the entrepreneurs
785 at the weekly markets. Because travel is so difficult during
492 Ramadan, the sugs are rather skimpily attended. Men who prepare
443 and vend food at the marketplace simply go out of business for
[265] the duration of the period. The end of Ramadan is marked by the
796 Little Festival or Aid as-Saghir. Aid as-Saghir is naturally a
785 time of rejoicing since the period of fasting has come to an end.

641 To partake in such leadership requires wealth since the trip
648 itself is expensive (the only form of public transportation
556 from the Rif to Rabat is by bus and these men eschew this in
619 favor of splitting the expense of a taxi ride of several hundred
[494] miles) and the per diem allowance is more a token than anything realistic.

Some men have gracefully retired from positions of community leadership because of expenses such as these. If over a period of years one declines to go to such ceremonies because of ill health or pressing familial affairs, the person is quietly dropped from the list of the invited and another local man is substituted. Expenses for maintaining such a social position are not small in relationship to the amount of wealth available even to the better-off Berber. On the other hand, wealth alone does not qualify one for a position of political prominence and social prestige. The importance of a man is based not on his wealth per se but rather what sort of wealth it is and how he came by it. Wealth divorced from such critical factors cannot be translated by the Riffian into socially meaningful significance. To operate within the context of profit is to operate outside the complex of social responsibility and communal solidarity. Thus while there are entrepreneurs in the Rif, they do not have the social prestige that goes with traditional wealth in land. This distinction could be illustrated by numerous examples but the following cases were selected because they

556 illustrate that this distinction is recognized not only within
472 the community but by outside authorities.

556 a) A tribesman of the Beni Said had migrated to Alhucemas
485 and worked for Spaniards during the Protectorate. He
472 had purchased the hotel of a Spaniard when the latter
[275] sold on the eve of national independence. While it is
[784] illegal for a Muslim to operate a bar, he continued to
do so with tacit approval from local officials. He
opened several other enterprises accommodating Berber
transients and Western tourists. Although he came from
a poor family he had accumulated considerable capital.
However, his values were oriented almost entirely to
city life and he visited his tribe only once or twice
a year. He did not attempt to translate any of his
economic power into social status in his tribe. When
an European-sponsored hotel opened in the city, the
management regarded this entrepreneur as a competitive
threat (he was underselling the new hotel by 50%).
They complained to the police (it was rumored that
generous bribes were offered and accepted) and they
promptly closed the Riffian's bar. He complained to
the Ministry of Interior in Rabat and was told he could
reopen once the tourist season was over.

556 b) A Berber of the Beni Wariyaghar was the son of a
prominent man who had sided with the Spanish against
Ab-del Krim. The man, although he held political office

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It is possible, of course, for a single individual to incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylie Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, "... only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' ..." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remunerative but of negative value in terms of social interrelations. Those men who are motivated by profit often find the atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is manifested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
577 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered
with certain values that savings in an industrial society do
not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily
committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly
visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value
in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital
development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the
community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
301 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.

[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter.
Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for
increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of
the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order
to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth
is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such
has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is
through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

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Just as acquiring the capital for an investment has its own distinct forms, the actual investment itself appears to be motivated more often than not by social incentive rather than by profit. Aside from such investments as were mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, we encounter investments which have, from the standpoint of industrial ideology, a more utilitarian aspect.

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Thus, an extra male or an ox can raise the level of productivity of its owner. What more often occurs, however, is that in the case of such prestige-laden animals, their effect is primarily in the role of prestige and only secondarily in production. Perhaps the most dramatic representation of such investment are the animals which are purchased during the summer months. It is during this period that traveling is at its optimum, and owners leave their newly acquired livestock grazing conspicuously along the roadside for the public to observe. Unfortunately, work animals serve almost no productivity function during the summer months. With the commencement of winter, fodder supplies decrease and it becomes necessary to sell the extra animal before it can be put to a utilitarian purpose.

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Another example of the primacy of the social incentive is the business of milling. The turbine wheel mill powered by water is one of the few nonagricultural enterprises which the fellah engage in. The operation of a mill in the Rif bears little resemblance to the operations of a firm as a profit-making organization. In the first instance, cost for the service of a mill is not determined by any market factor, but by custom. The owner of

256 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regard-
435 less of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills
472 are not economically competitive with one another, they are soci-
256 ally competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better
472 than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has
477 a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a local-
ity, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community
uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of
[571] preference on the part of the users is not determined by conveni-
[578] ence of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such
[602] as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of
the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

423 Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses
477 of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor.
We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise
between a man who has more property than he alone can personally
cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social
and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who
holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence
needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property
holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own.
Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inher-
itance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to
meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these cir-
[464] cumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to
keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

445 I have discussed this claim to possess land in distant tribes
565 but find their occupation more remunerative.
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443 In addition to these small merchants there is an assort-
445 ment of people who turn up at irregular intervals to sell special
goods or services. Thus we have the photographer with his
Polaroid camera, the seller of Viewmasters and slides, the
itinerant dentists who pull teeth out with their pliers, the
bookseller, the watch repairman, the palm reader, the magician.

(759) The greatest attention goes to the medicine man or woman, occa-
sionally selling medical drugs, but more often magical herbs,
stones, parts of animals, and powders. The officials on the
whole disapprove of these latter, but will tolerate them inside
the marketplace unless they become too vociferous or make too
extravagant a claim. This whole group, while it often provides
the most excitement or novelty of the market, is rather periph-
eral to the volume of trade that takes place.

442 Finally there are the large-scale buyers and sellers,
443 the commercial entrepreneurs who have acquired sufficient capital
472 so that short-run setbacks do not greatly affect the operation,
who operate not only apart from the local economy but also apart
from the regional economy. These are the middlemen between two
different economic spheres, who operate with equal efficiency in
both. Of course, a large-scale buyer in one market might well
turn up in another market as a large-scale seller. Thanks to
the limited range of diversification in the markets of the Central

Rif, such multiplicity of roles does not turn up empirically and we may proceed to regard the one as different from the other.

Of the large-scale sellers in the markets, the fish trade has become the most prominent, selling a commodity which, though cheaper than meat, serves as an important dietary item. Alhucemas has only recently become a prominent fishing port, currently rivaled by only Agadir on the Atlantic. The fishing occupation, while pursued by the Thinsamen and Ibaquyen tribes for several centuries, has only recently been modernized. During the Spanish protectorate this activity was mainly in the hands of Spaniards but ever-increasing numbers from the two above tribes have entered

into this occupation. The fishermen themselves do not market their catch but, after spending the night out at sea, bring the catch to the docks where middlemen bargain for it. These men, in turn, supply every market in the Central Rif with fish on the appropriate day of each market. Such an enterprise is usually carried on by a company of several men who band together to buy a truck and split the rewards in common. Prior to the building of roads this enterprise was conducted on a very small scale by entrepreneurs who traveled into the interior on mules. At present the activity has picked up to the extent that every market gets two or three loads of fish, mainly sardines which are the cheapest fish available and take the place of meat in the diets of the poor.

Another group of large-scale sellers who come to the local suqs are the barley merchants who purchase grain in the richer